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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

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but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

The band.—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19–20).

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famous for their manufacture, stuffed with guanaco wool and sown up with ostrich or guanaco sinews. The bolsters do duty as pillows or as seats, and help to form the women's saddles on the march. Besides these, the women all own mandils for their beds. The men occasionally use the cloths worn under the saddles for seats when the ground is damp, but as a rule all the inmates of the toldo squat upon Nature's carpet, which has the advantage of being easily cleaned, for the Tehuelches are very particular about the cleanliness of the interior of their dwellings, and a patch of sod accidentally befouled is at once cut out and thrown outside by the women. The cooking utensils are simple, consisting of an asador, or iron spit, for roasting meat, and an occasional iron pot, which serves for boiling and also for trying out ostrich grease and marrow, which is employed both for cooking and for mixing with the paint with which the faces of both sexes are adorned. To these, wooden platters and armadillo shells, to serve broth in, are sometimes added. The duty of pitching and arranging the toldos on the halt and striking them for the march, as well as loading the poles, covering, and furniture on the horses, devolves entirely upon the women, who display great strength and dexterity in the work.

About the toldos were innumerable dogs of all sizes and breeds, and Mrs. Orkeke rejoiced in the possession of two fowls brought from the settlement, and the all-important possession of the Indians—horses, completed the bustling liveliness of the scene. There were not less than 150 belonging to the various members of the party, Orkeke and Tankelow owning about forty, besides mares and skittish colts of all ages, which ran about so that they could not be counted. The reader can imagine what scene the march and encampment of such a party presents, and the care with which the Indians must select their route so as to be sure of game for themselves and pasture for their animals. Of the dogs and horses in use by the Tehuelches a fuller description will be given hereafter.